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Clans and Kinship System of Cancuc (Mexico)
[Clanes y Sistema de parentesco de Cancuc (México)]

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[Title page]

614 /1/ Cancuc is a Tzeltal town of Chiapas, Mexico, whose
[101] social organization is based on exogamous patrilineal clans.
[776] These clans are intimately related to: 1) the nagual or guardian
[551] spirit, which is given the name of lab among the Indians of this
[613] region; 2) the native surnames that constitute the lineages within
[621] the clans; 3) the "barrios," as the Spanish chroniclers called the endogamous tribal subdivisions (called calpulli among the Aztecs and culibal in Cancuc); 4) the kinship system; and 5) the behavior.

614 All the individuals belonging to a clan consider themselves
601 "legitimate siblings" /Sp. "hermanos legítimos"/, using the terms that designate this class of relatives. This theoretical consanguineous kinship is expressed by means of the word chapomal -- a Cancuquero /a person from Cancuc/ calls another "brother" be-
614 cause he is his chapomal. This form of usage is indicative of
601 common ancestry, something that we were not able to clarify, as
124 our questions on this point only received answers that showed that
829 they had lost any notion of a real or mythical ancestor. Our informants invariably explained this situation with the expressions: "it is the custom," "San Juan /Saint John/ (Patron Saint of Cancuc) ordered it so," or "it was ordered by Manuel (God)." What does constitute a clear concept in the minds of all is that "formerly" each clan lived in a cave, from which its members went out in the form of human beings to populate the earth and in which lived the naguales, or lab, that bound them to their place of origin.
[775] The soul came back to this cave after death. There are as many caves as the number of clans.

614 The children belonged to the paternal clan. A woman who marries does not become a member of the clan of her husband.

/2/ Exogamy is strictly respected; persons belonging to the same clan never marry each other.

[591] The clans are not local, as their members live in all of the places and rancherías.

[178] At present the clans lack chiefs, this institution having dis-
[669] appeared about 30 years ago, according to all our information, when the zone that we are studying underwent a chaotic period due to political revolts.

/2 cont./

614 887 156 The chieftaincy of each clan was filled by the oldest man, who was called chunel. (It seems to have the same meaning as the word catinab, but some informants recognized the latter as the one used in the adjacent municipality of Oxchuc.) The office was not hereditary, and upon the death of a chunel the oldest man 156 614 888 of the clan was venerated as such. The chief of the clan was respected and feared, because he was recognized as endowed with supernatural power which, through his lab, he exercised over all 776 554 the members of the clan. Two informants of advanced age defined the chunel as "the oldest one and the greatest sorcerer." The lab feeds on souls, and a person who has "done wrong" is 776 761 [784] [626] "eaten" by the lab of the one offended and dies. In this way social control was exercised on and among the members of the clan, never going beyond the limits of this. The life of the individual is intimately bound to the life of the lab, or guardian 776 spirit: the death of one brings with it the death of the other. All the Cancuqueros have their lab, but they hide it and sometimes [756] [827] [787] deny it. The curer knows which is the lab of the sick person because "he hears it in the pulse." The lab reveals itself in dreams to "its owner," with whom it speaks because "it is his own company." One person discovers the lab of another "because he sees it." The lab takes care of its owner, defends him, and is the in- 178 614 626 776 strument of revenge for an injury unjustly received. Today this concept is intimately bound up with the omniscience of the patron saint; only with the permission of San Juan can a lab "eat" the soul of a chapomal, or "clan brother," and this permission is granted only in the case when the saint is unfavorably impressed by the conduct of the individual. In any case the lab never wreaks its vengeance except for a bad act that would fully justify 614 626 it according to the social morality. As can be seen, social control was not only rooted in the chief of the clan, but this function extended to the whole group, as happens at present.

/3/

178 584 614 There are informants who remember the time when there were chuneles, and the younger ones know about it because their fathers have told them. The social conflict brought about by the disappearance of this institution seems to have its most intense point in what concerns marriage. It was the chunel of the clan of a girl to whom the parents of a boy would go to ask for her in marriage. He received gifts and gave his consent in case he thought it advantageous, and, accompanied by the boy and his parents, he went to the house of her parents, to whom he presented the pleas of the young man. No one could oppose the decision of the chunel. An informant adds: "If the woman does not [586] love her husband and leaves him and flees, the man advises the chunel and the chunel eats the woman." She dies if she does not respect the wishes of the oldest man of her clan. Now that there [578] are no chuneles, a boy, with his parents or without them, is accompanied by any member of the clan to which the girl belongs; generally the parents are opposed, the girl is not willing, and the use of force, which serves instead of the traditional fear and reverence, only gives rise to conflicts, bringing irreconcilable hatreds.

614 Formerly the clans of Cancuc were four: Chik, Chejeb, Ijká, and Boj. At present only the first three exist, the members of the Boj clan having been incorporated into the Ijká clan. This fusion of two clans took place a short time before the political revolts to [125] which we have referred. While taking the census of the town, we found marriages between individuals belonging to these two clans, concluded before the fusion. Since that date "the Boj know that they are now Ijká," and clan exogamy has prevented these unions; "If a Boj marries an Ijká now, the two will die," say my informants, "because they are chapomales."

614 539 776 To an inquiry about the reason for the fusion and the manner of accomplishing it, our informants gave the following explanations, which show undeniably the close relationship existing between clan and nagual:

/3 cont./

614 Esteban Santis Pin, of the Ijká clan:
539 Many ants entered the home of the Boj and they asked the
776 Ijká to lend them a home, and they joined there, becoming like chaponales /sic/ to each other since then. The ants did not enter the homes of the "Christian" (people), but the home of the lab; "the people did not talk it over, only the lab talked it over."

/4/ Mateo López Chij, of the Chik clan:
Lightning hit the home of the Boj "because it is very high on the hill." "The lab left" and they took refuge in the home of the Ijká. The members of the clans know this because it is in the home of the lab where "the chuleles (souls) are brought up." Before there were four homes and now there are three, because since that day the Boj and the Ijká live together. The homes are caves.

Diego Domínguez Tzul, of the Ijká clan:
The Boj were ill and the Ijká went to help them and to cure them. The Boj said: "It is good that we join the Ijká." It was the lab that spoke, not the Christians; "but the lab speak the same as people do, that is why they drank, talked, and gathered together." The people know this because those of them who have lab told them. The Boj were those who wanted the union with the Ijká, "and they said that when the lab became drunk."

Miguel Ordóñez, of the Chik clan:
"The lab of the Boj talked and drank with the lab of the Ijká, and presently they joined. Perhaps someone with a lab dreamed about this and then told it to his companions."

/4 cont./

614 Juan Jiménez Chan, of the Ijká clan:
539 It was arranged in the times of the old chuneles, when the
776 lab talked it over, there where they live. The chuneles later heard about it through their lab, and they were in agreement.

Tomás Vásquez Coreta, of the Chik clan:
Ants went into the home of the Boj, and the latter went to the home of the Ijká, where they were very well received, and "all are happy." Only the lab spoke, but the chuneles knew and told it to their chapomales.

Domingo López Uax, of the Boj clan; now of the Ijká:
The lab of the Boj and of the Ijká spoke and all was arranged. "Now they are chapomales and cannot marry."

614 The surnames in Cancuc determine the clan to which an
551 individual belongs. There are two of them: a native one which
197 is preceded by a Spanish one (except in various exceptional cases in which there is only a Spanish surname). All the Cancuqueros know their native surname, but most of them do not know the Spanish surname with which it is combined. Upon the uttering of a native surname, all know to which clan it belongs, which does not happen with the Spanish one, because these can be placed before native surnames belonging to one, two, or three clans. Therefore we can say that there is exogamy of the native surname, but not /5/ of the Spanish one, which does not seem to have any function with respect to the clans.

551 In the lists of surnames that we were able to obtain and which
614 in no way pretend to be exhaustive, we find 20 Spanish surnames and 92 native surnames. These last are distributed among the four clans in the following way: 33 of the Chik clan, 31 of the Chejeb, 21 of the Ijká, and 7 of the Boj (now incorporated into the Ijká clan).

/5 cont./

551 614 The great majority of the native surnames could not be translated by our informants, who asserted that they did not signify anything in the Tzeltal language. Those for which we could obtain the meaning are: Chan ... snake, of the Ijká clan; Chij ... deer, of the Chik clan; Uax ... wildcat, of the Boj clan; Chikin ... ear, of the Chik clan; and Lot ... lie /Sp. mentira, lie, story, error/, of the Ijká clan.

428 424 551 613 614 The surnames are inherited through the paternal line and constitute the lineages within each clan. The lands formerly belonged to the lineage and could not be alienated. This custom is tending to disappear in recent times, but even today we have found several cases in which only an individual belonging to the lineage can occupy land that has been left without an owner when one has died without leaving male descendants.

166 551 553 614 A native from another municipality or group who comes to Cancuc with the aim of settling down in it must be incorporated into one of the clans, for which it is necessary to change his native surname for a Cancuc one. (The different native groups of this central region of the State of Chiapas have surnames that differ among themselves, and it is through them that their place of origin is shown.) Generally he keeps the Spanish surname and takes a native surname that in Cancuc corresponds to that. One Gómez Tzima from Oxchuc became Gómez Uotán of the Chejeb clan of Cancuc. One Aguilar belongs to the Chik clan, like all the Aguilar of Cancuc. One Santis Kujul, the small son of an Oxchuquero and a woman from Cancuc, gave up his surname from Oxchuc when his father died and his mother's family incorporated him into the Ijká clan, changing the native surname Kujul for that of Lul, "so that he will be from here, and have his chapomales here, and marry here," his maternal aunt of the Chik clan explained to us. These cases are rare. We could not find out before whom these incorporations are carried out. One informant, born [879] in Cancuc, whose paternal grandfather /6/ had come from the municipality of Tenejapa, told us that he had heard his father say that "in the old times the old people arranged that."

/6 cont./

621 The native surnames are regarded as belonging to a definite
[551] barrio, two of which exist at present. (In an old document, which
[127] we cannot now locate, reference is made to four barrios of Cancuc. Our informants do not remember this fact and emphatically deny it, but they do refer to a third one, which became incorporated into the two remaining ones a very long time ago.) These two barrios formerly bore the names of Chejeb and Chiklajum, by which they are still known, but today they are preferably called Ajkol-culibal, or "upper barrio," and Alán-culibal, or "lower barrio," respectively. Some informants say "calpul" in referring to the barrios, but not so others, who recognize the word calpul as the one used by other native groups -- "here there is no calpul, only Alán- and Ajkol-culibal," several Cancuqueros explain to us. One informant tells us that formerly there were three culibales, the third being called Alal-bikit-culbal. The dividing line of the barrios passes through the center of the town, located on the crest of a hill, drawn from east to west, the lands of the north belonging to Alán- and those of the south to Ajkol-culibal. The
[361] third one, which has now disappeared, included all the land
[368] to the west of the town, as the dividing line terminated at the point where the building of the Cabildo /town hall/ is located -- to the east of the great plaza, having in front the Iglesia /church/ and the ruins of the ancient "convento." When Alal-bikit-culibal was incorporated into the other two, the line that divided them was extended, separating its lands into two parts: those that remained south of the line being transferred so as to belong to the "upper" culibal, and those of the north to the "lower" one.

621/ Even though at present there are persons from one culibal
551 living in the other, they always consider themselves bound to the one from which their surname comes (for this purpose our informants never took into account the third barrio to which we have referred). According to our list of native surnames, we can say
[614] that 54 belong to Ajkol-culibal, and 38 to Alán-culibal. According to the division into three clans, we have the following distribution:

/6 cont./

551 621 614

Ajkol-culibal	Alán-culibal
19 Chik	14 Chik
13 Chejeb	18 Chejeb
22 Ijká	6 Ijká

/7/ Among the Spanish surnames we have 6 that belong exclusively to Alán- and 6 to Ajkol-culibal (not counting the case in which a native surname of the Chik clan is joined to two different Spanish surnames that are found in both culibales). The remaining 14 Spanish surnames are combined with surnames from the two culibales.

621 582 178 174 551 Today the culibal is not endogamous, but we believe it possible that it was in former times (as we have found in recent investigations of the Tzotzil group of San Pablo Chalchihuitán of this region). The present possibility of changing residence and the incorporation of native surnames originating from a culibal (or perhaps two) that have disappeared within the boundaries of the two remaining make the reconstruction of the pre-Hispanic culibal impossible in this case. According to the data obtained in our census, 62.5 o/o of the marriages were concluded between persons whose native surnames originated from the same culibal. [125] In spite of the low percentage, nevertheless the custom of marriage [166] between people of the same culibal predominates (we should not forget [613] the mobility permitted in recent times, because of which residents of one culibal are persons whose lineages originate from the other), although cases of marriage between persons belonging [614] to the two different culibales also abound. It is almost always preferred to look for a wife among the women of the same place or rancheria, but at present we can say that clan exogamy is the only thing that regulates marriage.

621 622 [631] [614] [65] Each culibal has its own chiefs, elected from and by those members who have filled political-religious positions in the Chakel or Ayuntamiento /municipal government/. The clans are taken into account in this election, rigorously taking turns. The culibal chiefs assign the communal lands, organize the collective tasks for the benefit of the community, pray for the health and

/7 cont./

621 the harvests of all on the appointed days, and collect the taxes
622 on the lands of the culibal, which they take to the seat of the
[651] municipality of Ocosingo, from which Cancuc depends in the capacity of municipal agency. An order given by a chief is obeyed without discussion by all the members of the correspond-
[614] ing culibal. The men of each culibal participate in the local government in equal number and category, just as also in the filling of religious positions, the clans always taking turns.

/8/ Kinship System

601 Below we shall see the kinship system, intimately related to the social organization based on exogamous patrilineal clans.

601
128 Kinship Terms of Cancuc*

*This list presents the kinship terms with their significant primaries /Sp. primarios/. Some have the possessive prefix of the first person, but we have preferred to retain this form because this is how they are obtained in the genealogies and how they are heard in the common language in the forms of usage and because we use the charts of EGO, which are the ones of more common use. Due to the lack of printing types representing the phonemic signs, we have chosen the Spanish orthography.

601
bankil	a man's older brother
xibel	a woman's older brother
uix	older sister; father's sister
kitsín	younger siblings of both sexes
tat	father
me	mother
nichán	a man's children
kaal	a woman's children

601 /8 cont./

ta-jún	father's brother
mee-jún	mother's sister
nicha-jún	a man's brother's children
kaal-jún	a woman's sister's children
kichán	mother's brother; a man's sister's children
cha-mam	a man's grandchildren
kil-al	a woman's grandchildren
mam	grandfather
meel-kuj	grandmother
mamalal	husband
kinam	wife
bal	a man's brother-in-law
jauán	a woman's sister-in-law
mu	brother-in-law or sister-in-law of opposite sex
nial	son-in-law
kalib	daughter-in-law
nial-mamal	a man's father-in-law
kalib-mamal	a woman's father-in-law
nial-meel	a man's mother-in-law
kalib-meel	a woman's mother-in-law

Siblings. -- In the nomenclature for this class of relatives, they take into account the age relative to EGO and the sex of the latter and that of the relative when /9/ the latter is older than EGO. A man calls his older brother bankil and a woman calls him xibel. As for the younger siblings, both the male EGO and the female one use the term kitsín without distinguishing the sex of them. The three terms above are applied to parallel cousins. Those that designate older siblings are extended to all the members of the clan to which EGO belongs.

The same terms as for siblings are used for half-siblings, adding the prefix cha-. By half-siblings are meant the children of the mother by a man from a clan different from that to which the father of EGO belongs or belonged; thus, the children of the father by another woman and the children of the mother by a man of EGO's father's clan are considered true siblings.

/9 cont./

601 Parents-children. -- Both sexes use the same terms to designate the father (tat) and the mother (me). As for the children, we find different terms according to the sex of EGO: the children of a man are nichán, and those of a woman, kaal.

Uncles and aunts -- nephews and nieces. -- There are four terms used for this class of relatives: father's brother, mother's sister, father's sister, mother's brother. The first two are designated with the same terms with which the father and the mother are named, adding the suffix -jún; thus we have ta-jún for the father's brother and mee-jún for the mother's sister. The stepfather and stepmother are also designated in the same way. On the other hand, the father's sister is also the sister of EGO -- older or younger, taking into account her age in relation to EGO and not in relation to the age of the father of EGO -- being designated with the terms suitable for this class of relatives. The mother's brother is designated by the term kichán, the same as his male descendants through the male line, there being a tendency to apply it to all the members of the maternal clan.

With respect to the nephews and nieces, we distinguish between parallel and cross, the first being the children of a man's brother and the children of a woman's sister, and the second being the children of a man's sister and the children of a woman's brother. The parallel nephews and nieces are designated with the same terms with which one's own children are named, adding the suffix -jún, as are the stepchildren. With regard to the cross-nephews and cross-nieces, we find differences based on the sex of EGO and the sex of the relative of the connection. A /10/ man calls the children of his sister kichán, without distinguishing their sex, extending the term to the children of the women of his clan, while a woman calls the children of her brother in the same manner as her own brothers.

Cousins. -- Here we also find a marked difference between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, the first being the children of the father's brother and the children of the mother's sister, and the second, the children of the father's sister and the children of the mother's brother. The parallel cousins are named in the same manner as own brothers and sisters, making distinctions with

/10 cont./

601 respect to the sex of EGO, the sex of the relative, and the age relative to EGO, the same as for this class of relatives. With regard to the cross-cousins, we find differences according to whether it is a matter of a male or female EGO. A man designates the children of the father's sister with the term kichán, like the sister's children, that is to say, he calls nephews and nieces and cross-cousins by the same term, which is consistent with the act of calling father's sister sister. For this same reason a woman calls the children of the father's sister kaal-jún, like the children of her own sister. The children of the mother's brother are named in the same manner as the mother's siblings, that is to say, distinguishing the sex of the relative: the son is designated by the same term that is used for the mother's brother (kichán), and the daughter by the term applied to the mother's sister (mee-jún).

Grandparents-grandchildren. -- The term that designates both the paternal grandfather and the maternal one is mam, without distinguishing the sex of EGO. The grandmothers are designated by the term meel-kuj in the same manner. The siblings of the grandparents receive the same title, as do the great-grandparents too. The reciprocals are: cha-mam or mam (grandchildren of a man) and kil-al (grandchildren of a woman); the great-grandchildren are named in like manner, as are the grandchildren of siblings. Frequently an old person applies these terms to a child and vice versa, even if this relationship is not maintained between them.

System of affinity. -- Kinam designates the wife, and mamalal the husband, these terms being used exclusively for such relatives. The wife of the father's brother is designated with the same term as the mother's sister, and the husband of the latter by the same one as the father's brother. The husband of the father's sister is designated with the terms bal (brother-in-law of a man) /11/ and mu (brother-in-law of a woman), according to the sex of EGO. The wife of the mother's brother is called simply meechú or meetik, which means "lady" /Sp. "señora"/, as she is not considered a relative. In case this lady belongs to the clan of EGO, she is called uix or uixín (sister), and the mother's brother is called bal

/11 cont./

60 and mu (brother-in-law) instead of kichán, preference being given to the relationship through the paternal lineage or clan over the term corresponding to this consanguineous relative, but of the maternal clan. This rule is applied to any relative by affinity, with the exception of parents-in-law, sons-in-law, and daughters-in-law, even though in referring to these relatives one hears said: "my mother-in-law is my sister" or "my father-in-law is my chapomal." The terms that designate the son-in-law (nial) and the daughter-in-law (kalib) are used by both EGOS; but not their reciprocals, which not only take into account the sex of the relative, but also the sex of EGO. These reciprocals are compound forms, formed by the above plus the suffixes mamal (old man) and meel (old woman) for father-in-law and mother-in-law, respectively: nial-mamal (father-in-law) and nial-meel (mother-in-law) for parents-in-law of a male EGO, and kalib-mamal (father-in-law) and kalib-meel (mother-in-law) for parents-in-law of a female EGO. The brothers of parents-in-law are named in the same way, even though there is a tendency to limit this nomenclature to the collateral parents-in-law, calling the father-in-law's sister "sister-in-law," and the mother-in-law's brother simply "gentleman" /Sp. "señor"/ (tatik), the same as a non-relative. The terms used in the designation of the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are three: a man calls his wife's brother and his sister's husband bal; a woman calls her husband's sister and her brother's wife jauán, and mu is used by a man and a woman to designate a sibling-in-law of the opposite sex, that is to say, wife's sister, a woman's sister's husband, the husband's brother, and a man's brother's wife. The terms for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are extended so far as to include all of the members of the clan to which the spouse belongs.

[614] [613] In this kinship system we see how the nomenclature is primordially based on the grouping into exogamous clans, stressing the paternal and maternal lineages so far as to include all the members of the two clans to which these lineages belong. The parallel and cross lines are markedly differentiated. We can say that there is fusion between lineal and collateral relatives --

/11 cont./

601 father and his brother, mother and her sister -- using for this class of relatives the /12/ same terms, even though making use of a suffix that distinguishes real parents from the classificatory ones, and in the same way among their reciprocals, as we have noted above. In ordinary conversation the suffix may be eliminated, thus confusing the real relatives with the classificatory ones. The children of these relatives are all brothers and sisters among themselves.

601 611 This type of system seems to have its origin in the one known by the name of "Omaha," whose most outstanding characteristic is the classification of the male descendants of the mother's brother, through the male line, with the mother's brother, and the classification of the female descendants, through the male line, of this same relative with the mother's sister. Nevertheless, in Cancuc there is a marked tendency to designate by means of the term kichán both the male and female descendants of the mother's brother, through the male line, without any distinction of sex, which, according to the rule of the uniform reciprocals, brings with it on the part of a female EGO the designation of kichán for the children of the father's sister, in place of the kaal-jún used by a woman for this class of relatives. Furthermore, we are faced with the fact that the descendants of the mother's brother through the female line are no longer considered as relatives; that is to say, the descendants of a woman who is designated by the term mee-jún, and who, according to the rule of uniform descent, should

601 receive the title of "siblings," are not considered as such. This 614 disequilibrium tends to disappear with the elimination of the term mee-jún for this class of relatives and the extension of the term kichán for the designation of the same, embracing all the members of the maternal clan, that is to say, all those whom the mother of EGO calls "brother" and "sister." The term kichán, which formerly denoted "man of my mother's clan," would now mean "every person of my mother's clan."

[114] We have not been able to obtain the kinship terms corresponding to the descendants of the grandparents' siblings, since in the genealogies that we possess these terms do not appear because of having been replaced by those applied to clan siblings, or chapomales, or to members of the maternal clan, due to marriages concluded with persons belonging to these clans, there existing, as we have already indicated, a preference for these terms over those.

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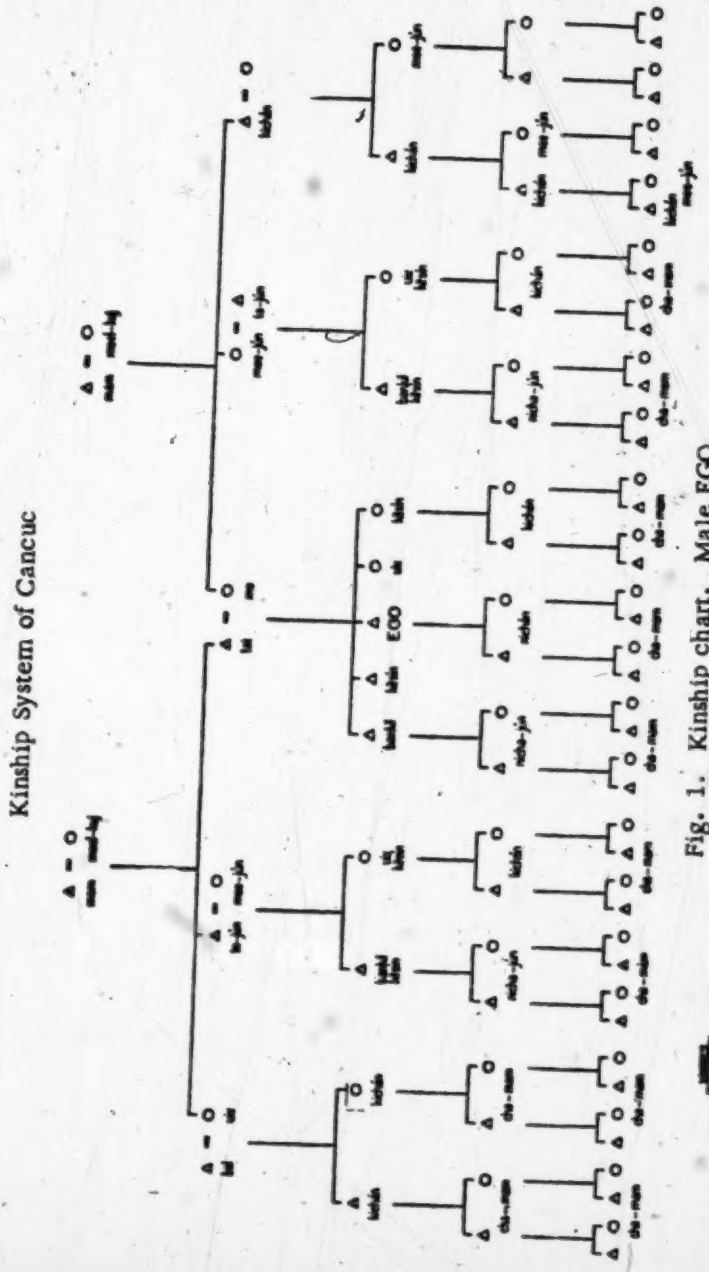

Fig. 1. Kinship chart. Male EGO.

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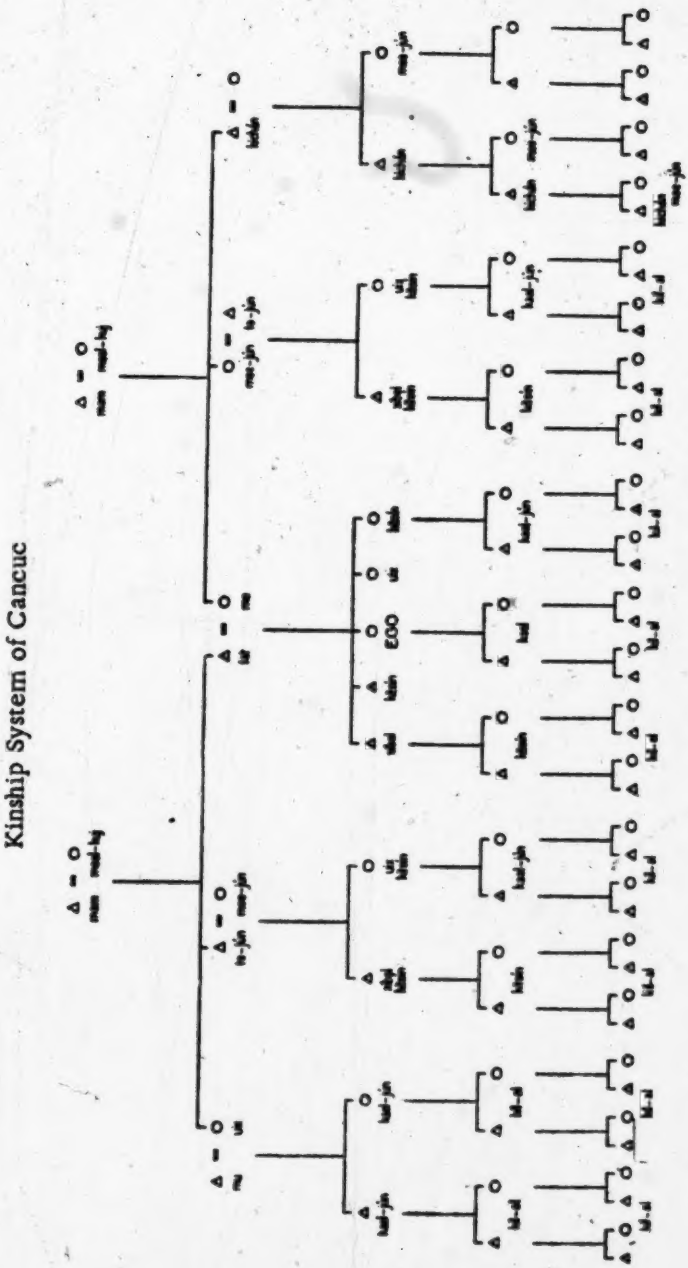

Kinship System of Cancuc

Fig. 2. Kinship chart. Female EGO.

Kinship System of Cancuc

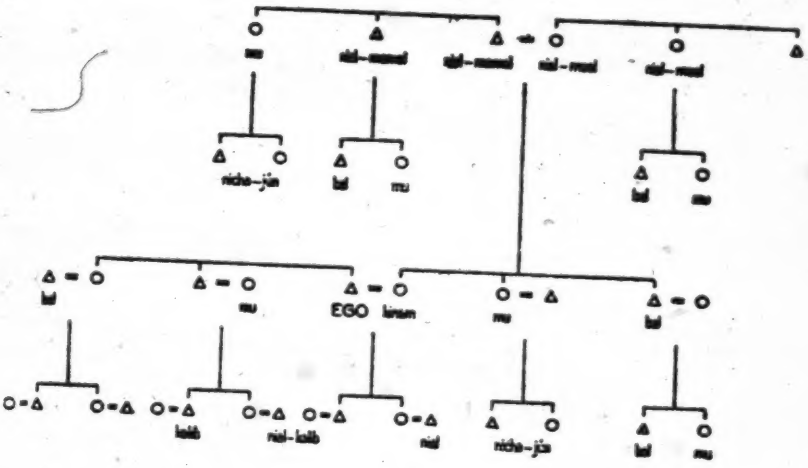

Fig. 3. Kinship chart for affinity. Male EGO.

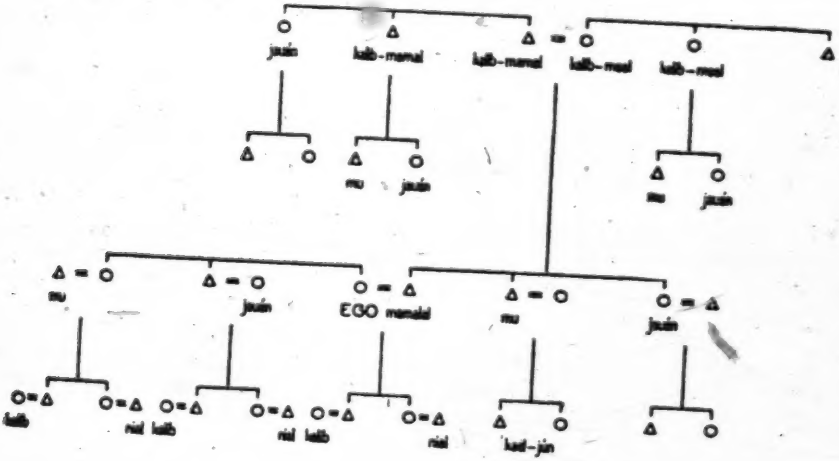

Fig. 4. Kinship chart for affinity. Female EGO.

/16/

601 The kinship terms, excepting those that extend to all the
614 members of a clan, do not seem to apply to persons outside of those included in the charts (Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4). The terms that designate older siblings are applied to all the members of the paternal clan without taking into account the principle of generation or the age relative to EGO. This custom tends to be applied even among descendants of the same grandparents: an old woman greets the granddaughter of her paternal uncle, calling her uix (older sister) instead of the corresponding kitsín (younger sister), the young girl using the identical reciprocal in her reply. We can say that there is a tendency toward the elimination of the principle of generation and that of age relative to EGO even among close relatives, using only one term for sister, a woman's brother, and a man's brother (uix, xibel, and bankil), except within the limits of the elemental family.

601 An individual, when born, is related to the members of
602 two clans: the paternal one, which is his own, and the maternal
614 one. Upon contracting marriage, he establishes new relationships, applying, as we have already shown, the terms which designate brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law to all the members of the clan of the spouse. In this manner a Cancuquero can be related to all the members of the tribe or native group, because at present only three clans exist, one of which may be the clan of EGO, another the maternal clan, and the other one the clan of the spouse. This is not always the case, because an individual may have married within the clan of his mother, in which case his kichanes and his siblings-in-law belong to the same clan, preferring then the use
[609] of the word bal to that of kichán. The members of the non-related clan receive the title of tatik and meetik (gentleman and lady).

582 The clans regulate marriage. Preferred clans with respect
587 to the selection of a spouse do not seem to exist. Upon the death of
614 the wife a man may marry again within the same clan or in the other. One of our informants had three successive wives belong-
614 ing to the same clan, but this is exceptional. In the three cases of
595 polygyny known to us the wives were not sisters: in one case the

/16 cont./

614 595 two women belonged to the same clan, and in the other two they were women from two different clans. The levirate and sororate 587 exist, but do not constitute a custom practiced /17/ by many; [704] formerly it must have been more frequent, as is proved by the fact of designating the stepfather and stepmother by the same terms used for the father's brother and mother's sister, respectively, 583 and the stepchildren as nephews and nieces. There are several 614 cases of marriage between brother and sister of one clan and sister and brother of another clan. Marriage between cross-cousins is 582 frequent, especially that of a man with the daughter of the mother's brother. Husband and wife always belong to the same generation.

591 Residence is patrilocal, with temporary matrilocal residence for a year after marriage.

593 There still prevails the custom that those who intercede in a 614 direct manner in the preparation of the cadaver and in the in- 964 humation must be members of a different clan. If a married woman who has not had children dies, she is buried with her relatives, without the intervention of her husband.

614 The members of one and the same clan co-operate among themselves and lend each other mutual aid; the younger people obey and respect their elders in the same way that a younger brother respects and obeys his older brother. And we have stressed [626] how "sorcery" is practiced only within the limits of the clan as a [754] means of social control.

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Mexico

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